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A thoroughly revised edition of "The Church and a Warless World"

Fed. Council

WORKING TOWARD A WARLESS WORLD

NEXT STEPS

1. A Sweeping Reduction of Armies and Navies by all nations.
2. A Christian Solution of Far Eastern Problems.
3. General Commitments to submit every International Difficulty for Pacific Settlement.
4. International Law, Courts of Justice and Boards of Arbitration.

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November 13, 1921

Honorable Charles E Hughes Secretary
Conference on Limitation of Armament
Washington D C

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA REPRESENTING ITS CONSTITUENT BODIES WITH A MEMBERSHIP OF TWENTY MILLIONS EXPRESSES HEARTY ENDORSEMENT OF THE NOBLY CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM PROPOSED BY THE AMERICAN DELEGATION FOR A REAL REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS WITH GRATITUDE TO GOD FOR THE VISION THAT HAS LED YOU AND FOR THE COURAGE WITH WHICH YOU HAVE DARED TO FOLLOW IT WE ON THEIR BEHALF PLEDGE OUR PRAYER AND OUR LOYAL SUPPORT FOR THE REALIZATION OF THIS VISION

Commission on International Justice and Goodwill
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

ISSUED BY
THE COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND GOOD-WILL
OF
THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
105 EAST 22ND STREET, NEW YORK CITY

CONSTITUENT BODIES OF THE

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Baptist Churches, North
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Christian Reformed Church in North America
Churches of God in N. A. (General Eldership)
Congregational Churches
Disciples of Christ
Friends
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Evangelical Association
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
Colored M. E. Church in America
Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
Primitive Methodist Church
Protestant Episcopal Commissions on Christian Unity and Social Service
Reformed Church in America
Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Reformed Presbyterian Church, General Synod
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Evangelical Church
United Presbyterian Church

A Second Call to 150,000 Churches in America

PUBLIC SENTIMENT, so largely created and led by the Churches, has made possible the bold and noble proposals of Secretary Hughes for sweeping reduction of armaments. But proposals must not be mistaken for achievements. Whole areas of discussion, moreover, and many practical and very difficult problems are yet to be faced.

Danger of reaction is apparent. The Churches must not be misled into apathy or indifference. The same public sentiment, led by the Churches, which made possible the hopeful beginning, must be maintained to the very end.

The Conference is still dependent on the right spirit and atmosphere. This can only be created by the people. The Churches and the pastors must continue to watch and pray. It is explicitly recognized that the public sentiment has been largely created by the Churches. The Washington Conference will continue many weeks. Our campaign must continue until "war is outlawed," and the whole war-system is abolished by the firm establishment of an effective peace-system.

Representatives of the Federal Council in Washington are keeping in close touch with the situation there. The Council is also in constant communication, both by letter and by cable, with the church bodies of the other nations in order that this sweeping expression of public sentiment may be international, and may come in upon the Conference from the peoples of all nations concerned.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL NOW URGES THE CHURCHES:

1. To promote the earnest study in every church of international questions by adult and young people's study groups and in prayer meetings. At the close of the courses suggested it would be helpful if each group would write to the appropriate Senators and Representatives in the House, expressing the conclusions to which it has been led.

2. To continue in every Sunday service and on every other possible opportunity to pray for the success of the Conference and to educate the people on the Christian principles involved in establishing and maintaining right international relations.

3. To hold public meetings in every city, unitedly wherever possible, some time in November or December, in behalf of America's courageous proposal to the nations.

4. To emphasize afresh in the services at Thanksgiving and Christmas time the Christian belief in a warless world and in an immediate and sweeping reduction of armament as an imperative step toward the ultimate goal.

5. To study carefully the Federal Council's new pamphlet on the Problems in the Pacific and Far East.

6. To organize in each of the larger cities a Committee on International Justice and Good-will, representing all the churches, for vigorous and continuous cooperation in the long and serious campaign for a world-order that is Christian in principle.

7. To keep in touch with the Commission on International Justice and Good-will of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in order that the many regiments and armies of the church may keep step and may march together in their war to end war.

An Appeal to All Lovers of Humanity

Issued by the Heads of Many Churches, in Cooperation with the Federal Council.

SO momentous are the issues of the coming Conference on Limitation of Armament and so fateful for all the higher interests of mankind that we unite in this joint statement to express to our own nation and the world what we feel to be the deep convictions of the Churches.

We have come to a fork in the highway of human history. To the left lies the old way of suspicion, jealousy, and selfishness. To the right, the way of mutual trust, cooperation, and brotherhood. The first road requires growing armaments and leads to the horrors of another war. The second requires agencies of international law and justice and leads to a warless world.

The Conference is to deal with difficult and complex problems of politics and economics. But underlying them all are eternal moral principles of international life. We firmly believe that nations no less than individuals are subject to God's immutable moral laws; that only through just dealing and unselfish service can people achieve true welfare, greatness and honor; that for nations as well as individuals, good-will and mutual helpfulness are the true way of life. No considerations of political expediency or of selfish economic advantage can supersede these basic principles without bringing ultimate disaster and ruin in their train.

In the light of these principles at least four clear tasks seem to us to lie before our nation and the nations of the world:

Some rational and pacific method for the settlement of every international dispute must now be found. War we regard as an intolerable evil which we can no longer endure, and which we must definitely set ourselves to banish from the earth.

A sweeping reduction of armaments we hold to be an imperative necessity. The present riot of expenditure on armies and battleships throughout the world, at a time when all our resources are needed for constructive tasks, even at a time when millions of men are dying of starvation, we regard as a sin against humanity for which we all alike need humbly to repent. Worse still, competitive armaments will lead again, as in the past they always have, to the distrust and suspicion that nourish the seeds of future war.

For the perplexing problems of the Pacific acceptable solutions must now be found. If causes of irritation be not removed, if jealousy and fear be allowed to spread till they lead at last to conflict in arms, it would mean not only all the unspeakable evils of every war, but also the death knell of the great enterprise of Christian missions which through years of patient and unselfish service have been breaking down barriers between race and race and ministering to international brotherhood.

More than all else, there is need for a new spirit in our international life. Penitence there must be, first of all, for our own past sin in thinking too much of our own rights and others' duties, too little of our own duties and others' rights. We must learn to think of our nation not as an end in itself, but as a member of a family of nations under a common Father. All unneighborly attitudes toward other peoples, all prejudice against other races, must be put away. Our hearts must be open to the incoming of the divine spirit of love which alone can bring lasting peace to a world, torn by war and staggering under the colossal burden of unnecessary armaments.

We bespeak the active cooperation in mind and heart and will of all lovers of humanity in the achievement of these great ends.

MRS. HELEN B. MONTGOMERY
President Northern Baptist Convention

REV. E. C. MORRIS
President National Baptist Convention

PRESIDENT JOSEPH W. MAUCK
President General Conference of Free Baptists

REV. FRANK G. COFFIN
President American Christian Convention

REV. WILLIAM E. BARTON
Moderator National Council of Congregational Churches.

REV. STEPHEN E. FISHER
President International Convention of the Disciples of Christ

DR. WALTER C. WOODWARD
General Secretary Five Years' Meeting of the Society of Friends

REV. JOHN BALTZER
President General Evangelical Synod of North America

REV. FREDERICK H. KNUBEL
President United Lutheran Church

BISHOP LUTHER B. WILSON
General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church

BISHOP E. R. HENDRIX
General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South

BISHOP N. C. CLEAVES
General Conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church

RT. REV. CHARLES L. MOENCH
President Provincial Elders' Conference of the Moravian Church

REV. HENRY C. SWEARINGEN
Moderator General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

REV. A. B. CURRY
Moderator General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.

REV. NATHANIEL W. MATHEWS
President General Conference of the Primitive Methodist Church

BISHOP GEORGE C. CLEMENT
General Conference of the African Meth. Episcopal Zion Church

RT. REV. THOMAS F. GAILOR
President Presiding Bishop and Council General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church

REV. THOMAS H. MACKENZIE
President General Synod of the Reformed Church in America

REV. GEORGE W. RICHARDS
President General Synod of the Reformed Church in the U. S.

BISHOP SAMUEL FALLOWS
President General Council of the Reformed Episcopal Church

REV. M. WARDEN DAVIS
President General Conference of the Seventh Day Baptist Churches

BISHOP WILLIAM M. BELL
Secretary General Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ

REV. A. F. KIRKPATRICK
Moderator General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church

At the First Session of the Conference on Limitation of Armament

Saturday, November 12, 1921

President Harding

"Here is a meeting, I can well believe, which is an earnest of the awakened conscience of twentieth century civilization. It is not a convention of remorse, nor a session of sorrow. It is not the conference of victors, to define terms of settlement. Nor is it a council of nations seeking to remake mankind. It is rather a coming together from all parts of the earth to apply the better attributes of mankind to minimize the faults in our international relationships."

"It is easy to understand this world-wide aspiration. The glory of triumph, the rejoicing in achievement, the love of liberty, the devotion to country, the pangs of sorrow, the burdens of debt, the desolation of ruin—all these are appraised alike in all lands."

"A world staggering with debt needs its burden lifted. Humanity which has been shocked by wanton destruction would minimize the agencies of that destruction. Contemplating the measureless cost of war and the continuing burden of armament, all thoughtful peoples wish for real limitation of armament and would like war outlawed."

"Gentlemen of the conference, the United States welcomes you with unselfish hands. We harbor no fears; we have no sordid ends to serve; we suspect no enemy; we contemplate or apprehend no conquest. Content with what we have, we seek nothing which is another's. We only wish to do with you that finer, nobler thing which no nation can do alone."

"The world never before was so tragically brought to realization of the utter futility of passion's sway when reason and conscience and fellowship point a nobler way."

"We are met for a service to mankind. In all simplicity, in all honesty and all honor, there may be written here the avowals of a world conscience refined by the consuming fires of war, and made more sensitive by the anxious aftermath. I hope for that understanding which will emphasize the guarantees of peace and for commitments to less burdens and a better order which will tranquillize the world. In such an accomplishment there will be added glory to your flags and ours, and the rejoicing of mankind will make the transcending music of all succeeding time."

Secretary Hughes

"The world looks to this conference to relieve humanity of the crushing burden created by competition in armament, and it is the view of the American Government that we should meet that expectation without any unnecessary delay. It is therefore proposed that the conference should proceed at once to consider the question of the limitation of armament."

"In proportion as the armaments of each power increase, so do they less and less fulfill the object which the Governments have set before themselves. The economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments a l'outrance and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war material, are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It appears evident, then, that if this state of things were prolonged it would inevitably lead to the calamity which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking man shudder in advance. To put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world—such is the supreme duty which is today imposed on all States."

"But if we are warned by the inadequacy of earlier endeavors for limitation of armament, we cannot fail to recognize the extraordinary opportunity now presented."

"The astonishing ambition which lay athwart the promise of the second Hague conference (1907) no longer menaces the world, and the great opportunity of liberty-loving and peace-preserving democracies has come."

"Competition will not be remedied by resolves with respect to the method of its continuance. One program inevitably leads to another, and, if competition continues, its regulation is impracticable. There is only one adequate way out, and that is to end it now."

"It is proposed that for a period of not less than ten years there should be no further construction of capital ships, and that further reduction should be made through the scrapping of certain of the older ships."

(*For details of the proposal, see page 7.*)

The Staggering Burdens of a Warring World

The Nations are reeling and staggering today under their terrible burdens. They squandered their incomes in "adequate preparedness" before 1914, each nation assured by its leaders that full preparedness would save them from the greater expenses and tragedy of war.

They little realized that the huge and costly armaments of the leading nations was itself one of the compelling reasons why they were plunged into war. Big preparedness proves to be not "insurance" against war, but for it.

The losses they have suffered, the pain and sorrow they have endured, the inconceivable debts they have incurred—frightful handicaps for future generations,—the continued necessity of maintaining armaments even larger and more costly than before, the loss of workers, the collapse of industry and commerce, the dissatisfaction of large classes causing serious social and political disorder, the moral disaster of deepened enmity, suspicion and fear—these are the crushing burdens under which the nations are staggering.

Significant Declarations

"If the clergymen of the United States want to secure a limitation of armaments, they can do it now without further waste of time. . . . The responsibility is entirely on the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last one should come, they will be responsible for every drop of blood that will be shed and for every dollar wastefully expended."—General Tasker H. Bliss.

"There is no more inconceivable folly than this continued riot of expenditure on battleships at a time when great masses of humanity are dying of starvation."—Herbert Hoover.

"I went into the British army believing that if you want peace you must prepare for war. I believe now that if you prepare for war you will get war."—General F. B. Maurice.

"The lessons of the last six months should be enough to convince everybody of the danger of nations striding up and down the earth armed to the teeth. . . . Unless some such move is made (reduction of armaments) we may well ask ourselves . . . whether we are doomed to go headlong down through destructive war and darkness into barbarism."—General John J. Pershing.

"Something should be done as soon as possible to check the growth of armaments, especially naval armaments."—Theodore Roosevelt.

"If we do not destroy war, war will destroy us."—Lord Bryce.

"Competition in armaments means the wreck of civilization throughout the world."—Gilbert Murray.

"The piling up of armaments is causing general bankruptcy, anarchy and perpetual and universal war. If governments do not agree simultaneously to limit armaments, they commit suicide."

—Baron d'Estournelles de Constant.

"The real power back of this Conference is public sentiment. That public sentiment is definite, concentrated and effective for peace in proportion as it is charged with the spirit of the Prince of Peace."

—*Duluth Herald.*

The Church and a Warless World

(Suggested topics for Sunday services or mid-week meetings)

THE VISION OF A WARLESS WORLD

Isa. 2:24; Isa. 9:6-7, Zach. 9:9-10.

(Suggestive note: In the first passage Isaiah not only describes the goal of a warless world, but also the essential steps to its achievement.)

1. "He will teach us of His Ways"—God's immutable moral laws of justice, righteousness, truth, brotherhood and service.
2. "We will walk in His paths"—man's determined will to obey and practice those laws, repudiating the politics of force.
3. "He will judge between the peoples"—the pacific settlement under the Divine Rule of all international disputes.

RESULTS

4. "They shall beat their swords into plowshares"—"Neither shall they learn war any more"—disarmament, transformation of instruments of destructive warfare into tools of productive industry.

▽

THE STAGGERING BURDENS OF A WARRING WORLD

Joel 3:9-15—2:1-6.

1. The Economic Cost.
2. The Cost in Race Degeneration.
3. The Social Cost.
4. The Moral and Religious Cost.

CAUSES OF THE BIG ARMAMENTS OF THE WARRING WORLD

James 3:13—4:2.

1. Economic Causes.
2. Political Causes.
3. Psychological Causes.
4. Moral Causes.

▽

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT

Prov. 1:1-3, 7-9, 24-31; 6:16-19; 15:1-4.

1. Problems of National Security.
2. Problems of International Justice.
3. Special Problems of the Pacific.

▽

THE DISTINCTIVE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH IN ESTABLISHING A WARLESS WORLD

Micah 6:6-8; Matt. 5:38-48.

1. The Contribution of non-Religious Groups and Specialists.
2. The Moral and Religious Contribution of the Church.
3. Some Searching Questions as to Our Attitude.

▽

THE GREAT DECISION TO ACHIEVE A WARLESS WORLD

Josh. 24:14-15; Matt. 4:1-11.

1. The Alluring Temptation of Militarism.
2. The Choice of a Master.
3. Dedication to the Achievement of a Warless World.

"A good deal more than diplomacy is needed to bring peace to pass. Probably not since the beginning of the Christian era has there been a more moving call to the Christian church. Does it believe in the possibility of the fulfillment of the angelic prophecy of 'peace on earth'; or is the church itself infected with the foul disease of cynicism and 'practicability'?"—*Indianapolis News.*

STARTLING STATISTICS

The Cost of the Great War

Direct cost not counting interest.....$186,000,000,000.00
All costs, direct and indirect, including
loss of shipping, damaged property,
loss of production, etc. $355,291,719,815.00
Cost of all wars, 1793-1910..... $23,000,000,000.00
("The Staggering Burden of Armaments," p. 213.)

▽

Loss of Life

Killed in Battle 19,658,000
Increased death rate 30,470,000
Decreased birth rate 40,500,000

Total 89,628,000
("The Staggering Burden of Armaments," p. 213.)

▽

National Debts

	1913	1920
United States of America	$1,028,000,000.00	$24,974,000,000.00
Great Britain	3,485,000,000.00	39,314,000,000.00
France	6,346,000,000.00	46,025,000,000.00

("The Next War," p. 85.)

United States Expenditures, 1920

(Not including Loans to Europe)

I.	Past Wars	$2,890,000,000.00—	63.1 per cent
II.	Future Wars	1,348,000,000.00—	29.4 per cent
	Past and Future Wars		92.5 per cent
III.	Civil Departments..	220,000,000.00—	4.8 per cent
IV.	Public Works	65,000,000.00—	1.4 per cent
V.	Research, public health, education and development...	59,000,000.00—	1.3 per cent

Total.....$4,582,000,000.00
("The Next War," p. 97.)

The average tax paid to the Federal Government in 1920 by each person was $53.46. For what was it spent?

(E. B. Rosa Pub. No. 1518, p. 9.)

America's Navy Reduction Proposal

Capital Ships Only	Great Britain	United States	Japan
Tonnage Present and Prospective			
Tonnage to be Scrapped			
Tonnage to be Retained			

Response of the Nations to the American Proposal

David Lloyd George:

"Nothing could augur better for the ultimate success of the Conference."

Arthur J. Balfour:

"We look to it as being the basis of the greatest reform in the matter of armament and preparation for war that has ever been conceived or carried out by the courage and patriotism of statesmen."

Admiral Baron Kato:

"Gladly accepting, therefore, the proposal in principle, Japan is ready to proceed with determination to a sweeping reduction in her naval armament."

What Has Created the Big Armaments of a Warring World?

The causes direct and indirect are many and intricate. They have also been quite natural. An over simple analysis does not tally with the facts. To establish a warless world we must face the facts and all the facts.

It is not enough to say to the nations—"be good." We must find out what it is to be good in this modern world and we must establish suitable international agencies, so that we can be good. We must do much hard-headed, cool-hearted, clear-minded and creative thinking.

First of all we must not indulge in indiscriminate condemnation. We must indeed condemn the whole war-system as eternally wrong, but we cannot condemn every man or even every nation that has fought. Many noble heroes have fallen in warfare. Nations have been forced to fight for the overthrow of vast international crimes.

The principal direct and indirect causes of big armaments are the following:

1. Science, steam and electric power and standardized production by machinery, have given the advanced nations extraordinary powers of expansion and aggression.

2. Creation of wealth and massing of capital, control of disease and increase of population, with demand for more food and for abundant raw material, have caused the progressive nations to reach out long arms into all the world.

3. The existence of many absolutely independent sovereign governments, each responsible only to its own people for their welfare, has led to conscious and scheming rivalry and the adoption by several governments of the policy of economic imperialism. By diplomacy, intimidation and intrigue they have sought for expansion of commerce and for the political control of those backward geographical areas on which they were, or expected to be, dependent for food and raw material.

4. Suspicion and fear of neighbors have led each government to build up its own defensive system. This practice antedates, indeed, human history. But it has reached modern proportions because the discoveries of science have been effectively utilized.

5. The massing and mobilizing for war of the entire power of each nation has become possible by popular education, growing nationalism, increasing political centralization, and growing inter-relation and co-operation of commerce, industry and politics.

6. Acts of one people or Government with no thought or intention of ill-will, have often brought harm to neighbor nations, arousing feelings and acts of retaliation growing into settled mutual hostility.

7. The modern system of finance has enabled Governments through loans and credits not only to utilize to the full, existing wealth, but to discount and mortgage their futures and thus to create big armaments otherwise impossible.

8. The modern system of treaties, open and secret, have produced groups of "powers" committed to assist each other under certain contingencies, thus increasing fears and suspicions and making swollen war budgets inevitable in every land.

9. Vast private manufacturing enterprises, producing munitions and other materials needed by armies and navies have deliberately cultivated international suspicions and fears for purposes of private gains.

10. A materialistic, unchristian philosophy, justifying the right of strong peoples to take and to dominate the earth, has stimulated selfish nationalistic ambitions and rivalries. The doctrines that mere might gives right; that moral laws do not bind nations; that the weak must go to the wall; that victors may ignore the needs of the vanquished and may exploit them and their resources—these inhuman doctrines of materialism have led to vast national crimes, and to deep-seated hatreds and plans for revenge.

11. The will to avert the fate of the vanquished, if not positively to win the prize of the victor, has been a mighty modern cause of super-armaments.

12. The *people* of every land and age hate war. If so, why have wars come? Because they have usually been misinformed by the ruling cliques. The real and full facts in the case are seldom told them. The issues are more or less falsified in order to arouse the power of enthusiastic patriotism. Even where they partly know the facts they have no adequate machinery for the control of ambitious or scheming political leaders. And they are today ominously exposed to the schemes of a sensational press.

Problems Before the Conference on Limitation of Armaments

If we are to have a warless world the nations must adopt policies that will produce world-wide feelings of mutual confidence, of national security, and of certainty of receiving just international treatment. So long as nations are suspicious and afraid, so long as they really feel that neighbors are potential bullies and possible robbers and that their only hope of maintaining safety, of receiving due consideration and respect, and of securing justice, lies in their own right arms, there is little chance for a sweeping reduction of armaments. On the contrary, increasing armaments, increasing in deadly power and in ruinous cost, will be inevitable. So long as international security, consideration and justice depend on national brute force, so long will armaments exist and grow.

What then are the major problems to be solved?

1. *Problems of Justice*

What is justice? How can it be judged? Is any nation really competent to know what justice requires in any case in which its own interests are involved? Is a plaintiff competent to act as both jury and judge?

As between France and Germany, for instance, each of which has suffered so much from the other during the past two centuries, is either country able to judge or appreciate what justice requires?

Or as between Japan and America, is either one really competent by itself alone to know what justice requires? Do not special interests and partial knowledge make impartial judgment practically impossible?

The problem to be solved here is the creating of suitable, disinterested, unprejudiced and universally trusted agencies to study the facts, to make them known to all the world, to render decisions in the light of universally accepted principles, and to ensure their acceptance.

2. *Problems of Security*

Whenever a proposal for curtailment of armament is made, the question of national security at once arises—naturally and inevitably so—and it is a question that it would be sheer folly to ignore. However much our imaginations may respond to the dream of beating all our swords into plowshares, we have to face the stern realities of the actual world in which we live. Whatever we are to do, we must provide for the safety of our country.

This much of fundamental truth there is in the argument of those who insist on a program of so-called "preparedness." But is it true that military preparations really afford this security? The answer is an unequivocal "no," for as soon as one nation makes a large outlay of arms and battleships, other nations immediately do likewise. No one nation, consequently, is in a stronger position relative to the others than it was before.

Not only do armaments not afford security, but they actually create insecurity, for the competition in armaments creates an atmosphere of suspicion, distrust and rival scheming, which is the most subtle foe to peace and safety. The possession of powerful and increasing military and naval forces unquestionably stimulates the development, both by their possessors and by their rivals, of policies they would not otherwise entertain. For national security we need more than anything else the good-will and mutual confidence which have long been undermined by rival armaments.

More than this, it is not too much to say that the expenditure of vast sums upon army and navy actually weakens the defensive power of a nation, for, as Mr. Frank Cobb has so convincingly pointed out in the August issue of "The Atlantic Monthly," in a day when wars are waged not by armies but by whole peoples the defensive power of the nation lies in its economic resources. The real strength of the nation is being drained, not added to, by an expenditure upon armament which has constantly to be replaced. "The stronger a nation is economically, the better prepared it is to defend itself; the weaker it is economically, the less prepared it is to defend itself, even if every man, woman and child is carrying a gun."

It would appear, therefore, that when the question of security is really scrutinized, a general reduction of armaments on the part of the nations would lessen the safety of none and add to the vital resources of all. For the maintenance of internal order, small armies will be necessary, but no good purpose is served by the *competitive* armaments of the present day.

3. *Special Problems in the Pacific*

The secondary problems are many and intricate. Their solution, however, is by no means

impossible if the primary problem has been solved. The following may be mentioned:

1. *China's Problems*

   (a) The Shantung Question.
   (b) Special "rights" and "concessions" to many nations.
   (c) "Territorial integrity" and "the open door."
   (d) Stable and orderly government.
   (e) Financial obligations to many nations.

2. *Japan's Problems*

   (a) Growing economic dependence on the Asiatic mainland for food and raw material.
   (b) Need for a stable and orderly government in China that can maintain uninterrupted trade with Japan.
   (c) Growing population.
   (d) Emigration.
   (e) Demands of honor for the abolition in the West of race discriminatory legislation against Japanese and for the universal adoption of the principle of the equality of race treatment.

3. *America's Problems*

   (a) Protection from Asiatic mass immigration, especially of Asiatic laborers.
   (b) Security for Pacific Island possessions, particularly the Philippines and Hawaii.
   (c) Equality of trade opportunities in the Far East.

(For a careful discussion of these important questions the student is referred to "Problems of the Pacific and Far East," issued by the Federal Council of Churches.)

Important Principles

The success of the Conference for the Limitation of Armament vitally depends on the adoption by the Conference of certain fundamental principles.

A. *The Principle of Open Agreements.*

The age when a few diplomats or statesmen conferring in private can wisely make great and fateful decisions for entire nations has passed. The peoples must know what the decisions of their statesmen are and the reasons for those decisions. This principle does not of course prevent statesmen and diplomats from meeting privately and considering together their great and difficult tasks. They should by all means establish those personal relations that are so needful for full mutual understanding. But the principle does preclude secret bargaining and the making of personal agreements that are not made public, much less the reasons for them.

B. *The Principle of the Open Door.*

This means equality of opportunity granted to all by all for trade and for every kind of economic enterprise. It forbids special discriminatory privileges for special nationalities, established by military force, by intrigue or by diplomacy. This principle is not of course to be confused with free trade nor with freedom for mass immigration. These are domestic questions which each country must regulate according to its own needs, problems and judgments.

C. *The Principle of Equality of Race Treatment.*

This means that every civilized nation grants to all aliens who come under its jurisdiction, equality of legal status and treatment without regard to race, color or creed. This does not carry with it the necessary granting of privileges of citizenship to all without regard to personal qualifications. Each nation must decide for itself the standards of qualification which aliens must have to receive the privileges of citizenship; but whatever those standards may be, they are to be applied to all aliens without regard to race. Equality of race treatment has nothing whatever to do with the question of the restriction of immigration or of the intermarriage of races.

D. *The Principle of the Pacific Settlement of every International Dispute.*

This means that the nations voluntarily agree to submit for settlement by the International Courts of Justice or by general Arbitration or Conciliation Boards every difficulty which they cannot solve by their own diplomatic agents.

E. *The Principle of Mutual Reduction of Armaments.*

This means that the nations have the "will to peace," honestly plan to settle their disputes by law, reason and good-will and positively reject all purposes to use force to invade, injure or intimidate their neighbors.

In the Washington Conference it will doubtless be found that wholesome discussion and agreement on Far Eastern Problems and policies will be more easily secured after effective agreements have been made to disarm rather than before.

A Christian Solution of Far Eastern Problems

No phase of the movement for reduction of armaments is fraught with more significance to the Christian Church than the problems of the Far East. In a right solution of these perplexing and complicated questions is involved, in a degree far greater than the churches realize, the whole future of Christian missions in Japan, and on the future of Christianity in Japan may hang the destiny of the other nations of the Orient who will probably follow in the path that Japan marks out.

> "President Harding has been inspired by God to call this Conference and it behooves mankind * * * to accomplish things for the high and lasting benefit of humanity. * * * If the Conference fails I believe it means that mankind must further suffer."
>
> —Premier Hara, shortly before his assassination.

Unless some way is now found for removing causes of suspicion and distrust, so all competent observers agree, we face the ominous possibility of war with Japan. But this would mean, as the heads of our churches state in the utterance printed on page three of this pamphlet, "not only all the unspeakable evils of every war, but also the death knell of the great enterprise of Christian missions, which through years of patient and unselfish service have been breaking down barriers between race and race, and ministering to international brotherhood."

A clear cut policy must be formulated which will both protect China from exploitation at the hands of the great powers and reach a friendly understanding with Japan. This can only be done by a policy of disinterestedness and real friendship on the part of America for both these great peoples of the East.

1. Let America and Japan promptly ratify such international agreements as may be reached by the Conference, and then take great care through the successive years that their respective naval programs are so distinctly below the limits allowed by the agreements as to render absurd any charges of excess.

2. Let them declare to each other and to the world that they have no plans whatever for war. This single step carried out would remove at once mutual suspicions and fears, and break the vicious circle and make possible fruitful negotiations about every other thorny question.

3. Let America and Japan promptly negotiate and ratify a treaty to submit to arbitration every question whatsoever which they cannot promptly solve by their common diplomatic procedures. This would go still further in removing fears and rumors of war and in promoting mutual confidence and good-will.

4. Let America look to Japanese liberalism to overthrow her entrenched militarism. If militarism in Japan can be shown to have no real grounds for existence, if the people of Japan learn that they have no cause whatever for fear of attack or humiliation by the nations of Europe and America, Japanese militarism cannot long continue.

5. Let America take immediate steps to secure agreements with England, France, Japan and other interested countries for a common policy of friendship and good-will in dealing with China. It is a proposal that China shall no longer be regarded by any country as a happy hunting ground for special economic and territorial rights, that China's birthrights shall no longer be sold to any foreign government, banking corporation or special interests.

6. China must, of course, be left to develop, with our unselfish cooperation, her own governmental system and establish her own institutions. When she has done this she will be able herself to resist outside encroachments.

7. The nations might well also make international agreements that mass emigration from one country into another will not be asked or permitted, except in the case of those countries that specifically desire and arrange for it. But the nations should also mutually agree to grant economic and political equality of race treatment for all residing under their respective jurisdictions.

Factors Essential to Success

1. *Imagination and Faith*

Members of the Conference need to think out and think through, new methods for relating the nations so that they may live together in intimate; mutually helpful cooperation. This will need a high order of creative imagination. Faith also is needed the faith of delegates and of nations in each other, in an Eternal Purpose of righteousness at the heart of the universe, and hence, in the practicability of ideals. Faith begets faith even as suspicion begets suspicion.

2. *Frankness and Sincerity*

The representatives of each Government should state clearly and fully and publicly what the international policies and programs are of their respective Governments.

3. *International Good-will*

The representatives of each Government need to convince those of the other Governments that they and their Government have no selfish ambition or private purpose that endangers the existence, the honor, the rights or the prosperity of other nations, and that the privileges and rights which they seek for their own people are compatible with the interests and rights and welfare of all.

4. *Agreements and Commitments*

Each Government, through its delegates, should be prepared to enter upon effective agreements to cooperate in maintaining each other's security and in promoting the impartial administration of international justice. Governments have and should accept their international obligations as faithfully as they seek their international rights and privileges.

5. *Effective International Agencies*

The concrete expression of the principles stated above is the creation of a permanent Society of Nations, a World Court of Justice, and Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation. In this modern world these agencies seem absolutely necessary for the development of international law, for the administration of international justice, for the rational and pacific settlement of disputes that do not clearly come under treaties or explicit laws, and for the effective maintenance of peace.

6. *Moral Vision*

Above all things else, this Conference calls—let us dare to say it—for vision, for moral and spiritual idealism. It needs to be led by what Christians call the Spirit of God, to have what the followers of Jesus term the mind of Christ. Whatever be the forms of faith of its members, it calls for spiritual devotion to those ideals of humanity which all nations at their best, share with each other. For our own representatives, let us pray without ceasing, that God may guide them with His own hand.

Dangers to Be Guarded Against

1. *Excessive Expectations.* We must not expect too much of the Washington Conference. It will not and it cannot bring in the millennium nor establish the Golden Age at a single step. All that we have a right reasonably to expect this Conference to do is to make a real and substantial beginning in stopping the system of competitive armaments.

2. *A Cynical Attitude.* Some are inclined to expect nothing. They take a critical or cynical or even hostile attitude.

3. *Insufficient Expectations.* The Conference can go no further in making international agreements than the people as a whole will support and even enthusiastically demand. The American delegates might conceivably desire to make commitments for the American people which might be intrinsically wise, but which would be manifestly impracticable unless the people were earnestly supporting them. "Ask and it shall be given you," applies to peoples no less than to individuals.

In brief, we must not expect too much, nor yet too little. We must not demand the impossible, but we must clearly demand all that is possible. We must understand that real reduction of armament requires national appreciation of the problems and needs of other nations. It will also require a new spirit in Congress in regard to all laws that affect other nations, such as those dealing with tariffs, with immigration, with foreign debts, with naval bases in the Pacific, with the Panama Canal toll question, with observance of treaty obligations. We cannot as a nation ignore or quibble about treaties and pass laws that injure or humiliate foreign nations, and at the same time expect reduction of armaments.

The Distinctive Contribution of the Church in Establishing a Warless World

Is there indeed any distinctive contribution which the Church can and should make to the success of the Conference? Has the Church any essential part in establishing a warless world?

Chemists and physicists declare that future wars will be ever more dreadful and costly, more tragic and destructive. Economists declare that bankruptcy lies ahead of the nation and of the world if the present war-system is continued. Sociologists declare that unemployment will increase, that misery will grow, that civilization itself will decay and finally collapse if the mad race for armaments between great nations is indefinitely continued. Biologists declare that the human breed will degenerate in proportion as we send our best and fittest young life to the shambles for wholesale slaughter.

These positive and important declarations by unquestionable authorities convince us that ways *must* be found for preventing future wars. Each group of scientists makes his distinctive contribution. That contribution, however, we should note is negative—Thou shalt not. They do not go far in pointing the way nor in making it a reality.

Jurists, statesmen and legislators, however, come forward. They also make their distinctive contributions. They insist that world peace can come between the nations, only as it has measurably come between individuals, by the organized action of those who are peace-loving and law-abiding. For world-peace, nations must unite to establish international law, courts of justice and boards of arbitration; and these must be supported by the moral sanctions and enforced by the united power of the co-operating nations. These authoritative spokesmen have already devised the social and political machinery. They are saying to the nations: "This is the way, walk ye in it."

Does the Church have a distinctive contribution to make? Has it any word as important and as authoritative as that of the groups just mentioned?

Most assuredly it has. It declares on the highest authority that men of every nation and race are brothers, children of the Heavenly Father; that above all nations is humanity; that men and peoples of every land and race have inalienable rights; that justice, fair treatment and good-will between peoples and races are inescapable obligations, immutable moral laws ordained of God; that their violation is sin and brings terrible disaster and if persisted in, final destruction.

In the Message of the Church, it is not man's voice that speaks but God's.

"Ye have heard that it was said Thou shalt love they neighbor and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you."

"Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."

"What doth Jehovah require of thee but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

Such are God's commands.

But the Church has more than a Message; more even than God's commands. In addition to the word of authority addressed to the mind, the Church brings its own unique gift of the spirit to change the hearts and the wills of men. It not only gives the command—Thou shalt, but it adds the word—Thou canst. It transmits the Spirit of Christ—a miracle occurs;—hate, fear, suspicion, greed, selfishness vanish, and the spirit of brotherhood, justice, good-will, service, take their place in the hearts of those who become Christian—who become true followers and disciples of Jesus.

It has become clear that no merely intellectual message however cogent, no appeal to the "enlightened self-interest of mankind" can establish a warless world. Men's *hearts* must be changed. There must come into the life of millions of men the spirit of good-will, of fair

play, of justice. *Deeds* of good-will and service can alone disarm suspicion and fear. Spiritual disarmament must precede physical disarmament. Not until nations stop hating and fearing and suspecting each other, not until they develop confidence in each other's good intentions can we expect any very sweeping reduction of armaments. "A sound and wide view of national interests," says Lord Bryce; "teaching peoples that they would gain more by co-operation of communities than by conflict, may do much to better those relations. But in the last resort the question is one of moral progress of the individual men who compose the communities."

The unique message and work of the Church then is to insist that *our* people shall possess the right spirit; that we shall have a spirit free from greed, prejudice and arrogance; that ours may be a spirit of brotherliness and good-will and sincerity, a spirit of unselfish service and comradeship in the great venture of international and inter-racial life.

Mankind has come to another crossroads in its fateful history. To the left, controlled by the spirit of pride, arrogance, selfishness, greed and ambition lies the road to conflicts, to armaments, to wars, to destruction.

To the right, controlled by the spirit of good-will, of justice, of truthfulness, of co-operation, lies the road to harmony, to disarmament, to social welfare, to peace.

The Church holds in its hands the keys of life and death. **Its work is to create in men and in nations and races that spirit of justice, of brotherliness, of unselfish service, of co-operation. This is the way of life for men and for nations, and the only way. This spirit must dominate our nation if the Conference is to reach any large degree of success.** To secure this is the distinctive contribution of the Church.

Some Searching Questions

In our efforts for a warless world, it is not enough, as we have now seen, to call attention merely to the economic damage of war, to the staggering burdens of debt and taxation, to race degeneration or even to the ominous moral disaster evident in renewed animosities, bitter rivalries and burning desires for revenge.

Behind and below all these lies the fact of sin; terrible, national sin. The nations and the peoples have long been transgressing God's immutable, moral laws. The question before the nations is not merely one of more or less armaments. It is at bottom a question of obedience or disobedience to the eternal laws that men should love one another and should bear one another's burdens.

There has been sin, deep, black and revolting. There must also be repentance and regeneration, deep, genuine and permanent. Unless the nations gather at the Conference with repentant hearts and changed wills, that Conference will make shipwreck on the rocks and reefs of national selfishness and its accompanying diplomacy.

Nations, like individuals, are prone to see the motes in the eyes of others and to ignore the beams in their own eyes. This is a temptation to which America especially is exposed. Yet we have the Lord's word for calling such an attitude hypocrisy. As Americans we need primarily to inquire about our own spirit, our own conduct.

Have we loved our enemies? Have we been really friendly to our neighbors, to Mexico on the south, and to Japan, that rising Oriental power across the Pacific? Or have we had our eyes fixed chiefly on their misdeeds and our consequent losses? How much heed have we paid to *our* deeds and *their* losses? And how about our spirit in dealing with them? Our patriotism, moreover, is it narrowly nationalistic? Does our sense of human brotherhood demand for men of other nations and races the same rights and privileges which we desire for ourselves?

These are serious and sobering questions. They are questions that our pastors should press home on the consciences of our people. Should not our churches announce in clarion tones the call to repentance from our own sins and forgiveness of those who have sinned against us?

And is it not true that we have sinned not merely as a nation, but also as a Church. Has the Church not left undone things that it ought to have done—in the teaching of brotherliness, good-will and helpfulness? Have we steadily cultivated the spirit of Christ in our thought

of Germans and Russians and Japanese—during recent years? Are the Churches of America even now doing all that they should be doing for abolishing war and in combatting and destroying those teachings and that spirit that create armament and induce war?

Does the Church of today, like the apostolic Church, through the power of the Spirit, rise above barriers of race and nation? Can the modern church really fulfill its function in the world and make its true and distinctive and absolutely essential contribution to the establishment of a warless world, unless and until it does beget among its millions of members the mind and the heart of Christ in their relations with other peoples and other races?

The Practical Conclusion

"Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only, deluding your own selves."
"Faith apart from works is dead."
"Be not overcome of evil but overcome evil with good."
"Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but He that Doeth the Will of my Father who is in Heaven."

HELPFUL LITERATURE

Working Toward a Warless World. Single copies, 15 cents; 10 or over, 7 cents; 100 or over, 5 cents.

Problems of the Pacific and Far East. Single copies, 25 cents; 10 or over, 15 cents.

Study Course Outlines. Single copies, 5 cents each; 10 or over, 2 cents each.

SPECIAL PACKAGE OF PAMPHLETS (25 CENTS)

Working Toward a Warless World.
The Next War, by Will Irwin—4-page leaflet.
Shall We End War? by Harry Emerson Fosdick—16 pp.
The Staggering Burden of Armament, by Edward Cummings.
On the Trail of the Truth About Japan, by William Axling.

Order from the Federal Council, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

I. On the Necessity for Reducing Armaments

The Next War, by Will Irwin, 161 pages, special price, if ordered by pastors from the Federal Council, $0.85, including postage.

Now It Can be Told, by Philip Gibbs, 400 pp., $3.50, Houghton Mifflin Co., N. Y.

The Fruits of Victory, by Norman Angel, 335 pp., $3.00, The Century Co., N. Y.

The Folly of Nations, by Frederick Palmer, 405 pp., $2.00, Dodd, Mead & Co., N. Y.

The A B Cs of Disarmament, by Arthur Bullard, 122 pp., $1.25, Macmillan Co., N. Y.

II. On the Pacific and Far Eastern Problems

A. By Japanese.

Japan and World Peace, by K. K. Kawakami, 196 pp., $1.75. Macmillan Co., New York, N. Y.

What Japan Thinks, by K. K. Kawakami, 237 pp., $2.00, Macmillan Co., N. Y.

What Japan Wants, by Y. S. Kuno, 154 pp., $1.00, Thos. Y. Crowell Co., N. Y. City.

Japan and the California Question, by T. Iyenaga, 250 pp., $2.50. Putnam's Sons, New York, N. Y.

California and the Japanese, by K. Kanzaki, 99 pp., $0.50, Japanese Association, 444 Bush Street, San Francisco.

B. By Americans.

China, Captive or Free, by Gilbert Reid, 310 pp., $3.00, Dodd, Mead & Co., N. Y.

What Shall I Think of Japan, by George Gleason, 285 pp., $2.25. Macmillan Co., New York, N. Y.

Japan and the Far East Conference, by Henry W. Taft, 95 pp., $1.00, Macmillan Co., N. Y.

Must We Fight Japan? by W. B. Pitkin, 536 pp., $2.50, Century Co., N. Y.

America's Stake in the Far East, by Chas. H. Fahs, 165 pp., $1.35 (cloth), $0.95 (paper), Association Press, N. Y.

The New Map of Asia, by H. A. Gibbons, 525 pp., $3.00, Century Co., N. Y. City.

American Japanese Relations, by Sidney L. Gulick, 30 pp., $0.25, Federal Council.

III. Lantern Slides and Exhibit Cards

Information about a series of lantern slides that may be used in illustrating discussions on the reduction of armaments may be secured from J. A. Rawson, 18 East 37th Street, New York.

Twenty-two Color Exhibit Cards (9″ x 12″), illustrating "Facts on Disarmament" may be ordered from Disarmament Education Com., 629 G St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Price, $1.00, including postage.

What Can YOU Do to Help in the Reduction of Armaments?

1. *Accept your personal responsibility* in helping your church and your community to believe in the practicability of a warless world.
2. Help circulate "Working toward a Warless World," and other relevant literature.
3. Master and remember the facts, figures and policies given in this pamphlet under "Startling Statistics," "Problems before the Conference," "Important Principles," and "The Far Eastern Problem."
4. Write individual letters to your two Senators and to your Representative in the House. These are the men who will make the decisions of the Conference effective in America. Remember that resolutions passed in mass meetings or signed by hundreds or even thousands of names, though valuable, do not begin to have the influence with legislators that individual letters have which show intelligent knowledge, deep interest and personal conviction.
5. Take the initiative in starting a study group in your church, using the outlines of courses based on "Working toward a Warless World," and "Problems of the Pacific and the Far East."
6. Talk in your home and with friends about the Conference, being equipped for such conversation by the information given in this and other pamphlets dealing with the necessity for an immediate reduction of armaments and a new world-order whose purpose is peace.
7. Write short letters of not more than 300-400 words to your local newspapers. Editors as a rule are glad to know what their readers are interested in.
8. Let Church groups, women's clubs, or other organizations ask the managers of local motion picture houses to prepare and use each afternoon and evening, five or six slides presenting statistics and brief quotations on the question of the reduction of armaments.
9. Throughout the period of the Conference maintain continued attention to its proceedings and continued study of international problems and policies.

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